2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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614 As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunder-
776 bird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear
825 who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought in intimate
[421] contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the animal. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way. The blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is a sort of clan protector.

174 In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent:
614 first, the possibility of the "spirit" nature of the guardian
776 spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration of the religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal
825 represents an exoteric conception; and, secondly, that under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as it is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except, first, that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of the esoteric societies, and secondly, that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

Relationship to Clan Animals.

174 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the
614 consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual
825 to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a

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Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now.

The Clan Marks of Identification.

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nąmąkcc*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namąxinixini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namąxinixni* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender,

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archaeology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 317-338.